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582 621 joining barrios of the center, namely Santo Domingo, San Miguel, and La Santísima. Table 15 also shows that individuals from the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián marry very little with individuals of the larger barrios. It is noteworthy that there was not a single marriage between the barrio of San Pedro and Santo Domingo. These two barrios represent the extremes in size and are also at opposite ends of the village.

586 *Divorce and Separation:* On the whole, marriage is quite stable in Tepoztlán. Divorce as such is practically unknown. However, separations occur and may be initiated by either spouse. In the cases we have studied there were about as many wives who left their husbands as vice versa. The most frequent cause for separation on the part of the husband is that he finds another woman more attractive. Since [837] it is common for men to have mistresses, permanent attachments are often formed and the wife and children may be abandoned. Most of the cases of abandonment [588] are those of free unions. A man will feel greater hesitation at leaving his wife if he has been married by church. Infidelity on the part of the wife is considered a just [837] cause for beating her but it is rarely a cause for separation. A wife may leave her husband if he drinks too much or if he is lazy or beats her too often. Of course, wives are supposed to put up with these things, but some do not. Interference by parents often leads to separations. The local judge, who has heard many cases of marital discord, considers parental interference as the primary factor in most separations.

When a separation occurs, the children invariably stay with the mother. The husband takes no responsibility for his family and makes no contribution for their support. Indeed, it is so unusual for a man to support an abandoned wife that when it does happen it is said that he must have been bewitched. However, when a man continues to help support his wife (*pasar los gastos*) after he has left her, he still retains sexual rights and may treat her as a *querida* (sweetheart). Godparents of [608] the spouses may make some effort to reconcile the couple but this is not always [792] effective. In the past few years the *monjas* (Catholic nuns) who have come to the village have been making a house-to-house campaign to try to unite separated couples and to marry couples who have been "living in sin." They have met with little success, for Tepoztecans resent their activities as undue interference in their personal matters.

As might be expected in a village of this size, separations invariably lead to a [578] great deal of gossip, accusations, and bitterness, and usually involve many more individuals than just the spouses.

1778 58 *Changes in Marriage:* The principal changes which have occurred in marriage in Tepoztlán since 1910 are as follows: (1) delay in the age of marriage for girls, earlier marriage for boys, and the consequent development of a period of adolescence and courtship; (2) transition from a system of marriage arranged by the parents, with or without the consent of the children, to one in which the individuals choose their spouses but may follow the formal procedures of having their parents act as intermediaries for the marriage arrangements; (3) elimination of the bride

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No one attends all fiestas, but all attend some. Widows and older women are known to be *muy fiestera* and habitually attend as many fiestas as possible. The very poor tend to participate in the fiestas of other barrios and other villages, whereas the well-to-do are more careful to attend the religious services held in the central church. Children especially like to attend fiestas and beg to accompany their mothers or aunts. The sharp drop in school attendance during certain fiesta times is a chronic complaint of the school. Tepoztecans also frequent the fairs of Chalma, Jiutepec, Tepalzingo, Tlayacapan, and Mazatepec. Some go to buy or sell, but others go purely for diversion.

The establishment and increasing popularity of many national and patriotic holidays are making for a new type of diversion in the village. These occasions differ from the traditional fiestas, in that they are organized by the school staff and are carried out by the children. They consist of plays, dances, recitations, speeches in explanation of the holidays, and singing of national songs. Parades of school children are also becoming familiar events during the year. These celebrations are liked and well attended, and are becoming more and more a significant part of local life. Other contributions of the school to local entertainment are occasional dances and *kermeses*, at which food and drinks are sold and games played to raise money for various school needs. These activities are enjoyed by the young people, but attendance is generally small because of the resistance of the older generation to modern ballroom dancing; they look upon it as immoral, even when supervised. The school organizes occasional excursions for the children, but since these involve some expense many parents do not permit their children to participate. A literary and dramatic group was once organized in the school, but it was short lived because of local criticism and gossip.

Perhaps the next most common form of diversion is to go to Cuernavaca on one pretext or other. On Sundays, groups of young men take the bus to Cuernavaca where they spend the day walking about, playing pool, drinking in the *cantinas*, and visiting with prostitutes. Other men go to Cuernavaca for secret rendezvous with widows or married women from Tepoztlán. Women and girls go to Cuernavaca to buy or sell things at the market and to look at the store windows. A few of the more citified girls go to Cuernavaca to attend the movies and to buy the latest fashion magazines. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect of the pressure of this small but sophisticated tourist center on Tepoztlán, it is certain that it plays a strong role in providing a source of diversion and temporary personal freedom.

Sports as a form of popular diversion are limited. The traditional cockfights are all but gone and the *jaripeo* (rustic rodeo), although still liked, is declining because of the lack of skill and interest on the part of young men. Hunting is seldom indulged in as a sport, and even less so as a source of food supply. Those who are hard pressed to earn a living find it more profitable to spend the slack seasons working as peons for others. Singing and serenading at night is still popular among young men and is a source of pleasure for most villagers.

Organized sports or games were first introduced in Tepoztlán in 1922 as a con-

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TABLE 53. Criminal Offenses, During Six Selected Years.

Criminal Offense	1920	1927	1935	1941	1942	1943	Total
Robbery	9	20	11	14	18	14	86
Homicide	3	2	1	2	2	.	10
Lesions and blows	17	44	38	39	20	34	192
Fraud	2	3	..	1	1	3	10
Rape (or elopement)	2	2	2	2	3	2	13
Injuries and threats	3	31	45	26	40	55	200
Breaking into a house	3	16	13	6	9	10	57
Abuse of authority	..	1	..	1	1	2	5
Trespass	..	3	..	7	5	2	17
Calumny or defamation	..	8	12	13	10	17	60
Damages	..	17	12	11	8	12	60
Plunder or spoliation	1	3	5	4		8	21
Adultery	1	6	2	2	2	1	14
Seduction	2	5	3	3			13
Violation (sexual)		5	1	1			7
Arson		2	1	..		1	4
Assault		..	3	1	2	5	11
Abandonment		2	4	9	3		18
Scandal		2	..	..	..	..	2
Aggression	..	1	1	..	2	..	4
Helping a criminal	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Falsification of documents	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Bigamy	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Kidnapping	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Total	43	175	154	144	126	166	808

[839] [837] [588]

Teotihuacán and also from Cholula. This agrees in a general way with the historical reconstructions based on the early chroniclers for this area. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno has suggested[8] that Tepoztlán was probably one of the places settled by the earliest Nahua invaders who entered the Morelos region from Guerrero and the southeast, perhaps in the seventh century, after having come from the north. According to Orozco y Berra, the early Toltecs passed through Cuauhnahuac or Cuernavaca in VIII Acatl or 603 A.D.[9] However, more recent historians place the earliest recorded invasion of the present region of Morelos in the tenth century.

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Mixcoatl, the founder of the Toltec Empire, invaded the valley of Mexico about 900 A.D. and the valley of Morelos in 902 A.D.[10] Mixcoatl led a Nahua horde which came into contact with the Mazahua-Otomies with whom they mixed. According to Jiménez Moreno, Mixcoatl had a son by a Tepoztecan woman. This son, Ce Acatl Topiltzin, was born in the year 935 A.D. by the Mixteco calendar, or 947 A.D. by the Nahua calendar, the same year that his father, Mixcoatl, was assassinated by paternal relatives who were Chichimeca. Jiménez Moreno identifies Topiltzin as

[8] In personal communications to the writer.

[9] Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Historia Antigua de la Conquista de México*, 3 (Mexico City, 1880), 24.

[10] Florencia Muller, *La Historia Vieja del Estado de Morelos*. (Unpublished thesis, p. 151.) See also, Alberto Ruz Lhuillier, *Guía Arqueológica de Tula* (Mexico, 1945), p. 12. Introduction by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno.

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tudes toward sex and sexuality. Most of the attitudes toward sex are negative and prudish and, at least superficially, in accord with Catholic tradition.

Women have a negative attitude toward bearing children. They try to keep the number of pregnancies to a minimum by long nursing and by abstaining from sexual intercourse. Pregnancy is commonly described as "being ill with child," and pregnant women are embarrassed by their condition and make every attempt to conceal it. There is an absence of sexual play between husbands and wives; many women refer to the sex act as "the abuse by the man," and the genitals are generally considered ugly or dirty. There is a widespread belief among adolescent girls that sexual intercourse is painful. Open courtship is not sanctioned, and girls are severely punished for having any relations with boys. The existence of the double standard and the greater personal freedom of boys and men tend to encourage male sexuality. Romantic love, as we conceive it, is practically unknown; romantic attachments are relatively superficial and easily made and broken. Courtship is an intriguing, exciting pastime but it is always cautious, seldom impulsive or passionate.

It cannot be said, however, that Tepoztecans are puritanical, nor are they burdened with feelings of guilt or concepts of sexuality as something sinful.[4] Rather, Tepoztecans place greater value upon sexual restraint than upon sexual activity; just as they do not encourage emotional expressiveness, so do they not encourage active sexuality. Adult sexual activity is discouraged, not so much for reasons of morality but for practical reasons of safety. Parents fear that a young son may make an undesirable attachment with a widow or a dangerous attachment with a married woman, or he may be bewitched by a jealous sweetheart; they fear even more strongly that their daughter will lose her good reputation and the chance of a respectable marriage. Women are generally reluctant to have sexual relations, because of unwanted pregnancies; men discourage sexuality in their wives for fear of being humiliated by the wife's unfaithfulness; wives fear the loss of income and the poor treatment which inevitably attend their husband's extramarital alliances.

While there is much gossip, there is no ostracism or public denouncement or persecution of those who are guilty of sexual indiscretion. The couple living in free union is unmolested, the promiscuous widow maintains her usual relations with neighbors and kin, the illegitimate child is given a similar if not entirely equal position in his mother's household and may receive aid and inheritance

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[4] The relative absence of guilt feelings can also be seen in the reactions to stealing and drinking. Drinking is not considered bad in itself, but may be criticized because it takes a man away from his work and takes money which may be sorely needed for other purposes. Stealing is quite frequent and may be severely punished, but it is detection rather than the act itself which is disturbing. In case histories, informants frequently refer to little stealing episodes without any manifestation of remorse or guilt, but emphasize how ashamed they were when discovered. Men do not appear to have guilt in promiscuous sexual relations with women or in deceiving young girls. Rather, they are proud of these feats and consider any conquest to their credit. There is also practically no sense of moral responsibility toward children born out of wedlock.

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More and more women are undertaking to contribute to the support of their families, even when the husband is a relatively good provider. Women traditionally raise a few chickens and pigs, and some now grow fruit trees, to earn money. Men recognize this type of activity as necessary. Some poor men blame their inability to get ahead on the fact that their wives are inept at earning or saving money, or that their wives refuse to raise chickens and pigs because they dirty up the patio and are too much trouble. One attitude, sometimes expressed among married women, is, "Why should I work? That is what I have a husband and sons for." However, many wives try to earn enough so as not to depend upon their husbands entirely for food and clothing, because "the men are too miserly to spend much on these things." The more capable women are able to earn enough to aid their husbands substantially. Without exception, every man who has been able to improve his economic situation since the Revolution has done so with the help of his wife, and in all the more prosperous homes the wives are known to be unusually capable and industrious.

Several fairly recent social and economic changes which have occurred in the village have affected the roles of women. Women have been more affected than men by such technological changes as the building of the road, the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, and the introduction of the corn mills. These changes have also affected the relations between husbands and wives. Women began to patronize the corn mills over the objections of their husbands, and the success of the mills was described by a male informant as the result of "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men." The corn mills have given women from four to six additional hours a day to devote to other activities. Since women are not so tied to the *metate* now, they are able to leave the house more freely and can undertake more extensive business activities.

An increasing number of more ambitious married women are now raising animals or growing fruit on a larger scale or are devoting more time to selling the family produce at the Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca markets. However, husbands tend to balk at the latter activity and do not easily give their wives permission to go to Cuernavaca, despite the fact that the extra earnings would be welcome. This type of work has, in the past, been carried on exclusively by widows or older unmarried women who "had no man to control them." Many of these women are known for their promiscuity, and they and their occupation have little status. In addition, men tend to associate going to Cuernavaca with going to meet a lover and do not permit their wives to go alone. Husbands also fear that people will say they can no longer support or control their wives if they go out to work. The fear of giving the wife more freedom, as well as the recognition of the threat to the man in his role as provider, outweighs the obvious economic advantages, and most men prevent their wives from earning as much as they might.

Another factor which has affected husband-wife relations is the increased independence of young couples, who now seek to set up separate households soon after marriage. In the past, when wives often lived for many years with their mothers-in

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According to our older informants some brides did not submit to their husbands and had to be forced to do so. In one case a thirteen-year-old girl fought off her husband for six nights. Several times she ran out of the house to evade him. He finally became embarrassed and tied her hands behind her and forced himself upon her. Another girl left her husband permanently, because he forced her to submit to him for the first time in a field. But these stories apply more to the older generation. The young people in Tepoztlán today have many more opportunities for premarital contacts with the opposite sex and are generally familiar with the details of sexual relations by the time they marry.

Tepoztecan men are, for the most part, suspicious and distrustful of their wives and believe that they are capable of being unfaithful to them at the first opportunity. Men are unanimous in the belief that women must be kept under strict surveillance and control. The adulterous activities of men reinforce this attitude toward women. "I see how easily other women fool their husbands, my wife can, too." To insure his wife's loyalty the husband seeks to isolate her from outsiders.

When the couple lives with the husband's family for several years, it is relatively easy to guard the wife; but when there is early separation from the parental home, the husband is deprived of an important source of security. It is common for husbands in this position to ask the cooperation of relatives, neighbors, and friends in watching over his wife when she is left alone. As a result of these spies, some husbands know, in any given day, exactly when their wives went out and returned, with whom they spoke, and for how long.

Wives are generally forbidden to have female friends and most women discontinue all friendships at the time of marriage. Husbands view such friends as potential arrangers or go-betweens for the wife and a lover. Men frequently drop their own friends after marriage or do not encourage them to visit for fear that some intimacy might develop between the wife and the friend. The majority of husbands are suspicious of any activities which take the wife away from home. During the first few years of marriage, most wives are not permitted to leave the house unaccompanied. In cases where young couples live alone, the wife will prefer to ask a neighbor or a relative to make purchases for her, rather than risk her husband's anger or the gossip of others by going to the market alone. Although some young wives now go out alone, they are considered suspect by others.

When a woman leaves the house she is expected to return in the shortest possible time; any delay on her part may earn her a sound scolding or beating. Gossiping with other women is discouraged and sometimes punished. Most husbands do not approve of their wives going to wash clothing at the public washing place for fear they will gossip and learn "bad things" from other women. However, the burden some task of hauling water to do the washing at home serves to keep most husbands from banning the public washing place.

The suspiciousness and jealousy of some husbands is extreme. There are cases of wife-beating merely because the husband saw a man standing at the street corner near the house and suspected him of being his wife's lover. If a wife's work is not

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done by the time the husband comes home, or if the children and animals look neglected, he may suspect her of having spent time with a lover. In one case, a husband noticed that the family cat ate ravenously at night as though she had not been fed all day, and he accused his wife of having been out with someone. If a wife is unusually careful about her appearance before going out, or if she is reluctant to have sexual intercourse, her husband's suspicions may be aroused.

The following conversation, or rather monologue, overheard on the Tepoztlán bus illustrates the degree of suspiciousness of the Tepoztecan husband. One woman was telling another of her difficulties with her husband whenever she returned from a trip to Cuernavaca: "If I return annoyed, he says, 'You are annoyed to have to come back to me.' If I come back contented, it is worse. Then he says, 'Now you are happy. Now you are satisfied because you saw the one you wanted to see.' It seems that I have to have a face of wood when I enter my house."

Husbands generally become less suspicious after several years of marriage, if the behavior of the wife warrants it. However, as the children get older and can assist the mother at home, and as the needs of the growing family increase, women frequently wish to devote more time to earning money. For this they need freedom and must leave the house more often, and tension and suspicion in the husband are again awakened. Men are most secure when their wives are pregnant or have an infant to care for; then women keep to the house more and are unable to undertake outside activities. Having many children, one following close upon the other, is a source of security for the men.

Promiscuous sexual activity is considered a male prerogative in Tepoztlán, and men feel under pressure to have "affairs." Although male adultery is considered undesirable, it is also viewed as natural behavior and is widespread on the part of married men. Men make no secret of the fact that they have children by other women and often recognize these children as their own. There is no strong feeling or prejudice against illegitimate children; rather they are pitied, because "they don't have a father."

Illicit relations are usually with widows or unmarried women, but also frequently with other married women. Many men now go to Cuernavaca where they visit houses of prostitution, and venereal disease is becoming more common in Tepoztlán.

The "good" wife does not interfere with her husband's extra-marital affairs, but many wives express resentment, especially if money is involved. Some women will openly quarrel with their husbands because of jealousy and may refuse to give them money. This type of interference particularly enrages husbands and often results in a beating.

Drunkenness is not as common in Tepoztlán as in surrounding villages or other parts of Mexico and is more disapproved of. Most men drink a small amount of alcohol regularly in the evening, "to heat themselves" against the cold air of the fields, but extensive drinking is limited to Sundays, fiestas, or formal occasions. Most wives resent drunkenness, because of the probability of violence and the expenditure